2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

especially strong resistance when the Japanese invaded Ting Hsien in 1937. 121

We fully realize that much of our material has been secured from people who do not usually think in mathematical and statistical terms, to many of whom "several tens" is a reasonable approximation, and who are generally suspicious of anyone asking detailed and intimate questions. At the same time the very happy relationships between the staff of the Mass Education Movement and the Ting Hsien people made it possible for us to overcome much of this suspicion and to secure the best possible approximation to complete and accurate figures. Comparison of the figures secured from a variety of sources has shown an agreement which indicates that they give a reasonably true picture of the local conditions. 124

There was fighting, requisitioning of supplies, and looting in the Ting Hsien area in 1928 when the Nationalist forces came in from the south to capture Peking and unify the country. Troop movements through Ting Hsien in 1931 made it necessary hurriedly to pile our records in a small room and brick up the door. Fortunately the actual fighting was to the north and the disturbance was quickly over. Our records were not touched. Aside from those two short periods, the time of our study was relatively quiet and stable. The worldwide depression of the early 1930s affected prices and the economic life of Ting Hsien, but most of our field work had been finished by that time. As our study was made during a time when life in Ting Hsien, in spite of the two periods of military activity, was relatively normal and as the study was made under unusually favorable auspices, we feel that our findings can be taken as reasonably typical of life in Ting Hsien and as a good sample of rural life in North China. 128

Some questions must remain unanswered because the material was not available to us, others because the author of this report was not able to spend as much time in the field as had originally been planned and because the necessary delay in tabulating and analyzing the material, plus the political developments in North China, made it impossible to go back to the original records, to rearrange tables, and to get answers to questions that could not be cleared by correspondence.

All dollar figures are Chinese silver dollars. Cents are Chinese dollar decimals unless otherwise noted. From 1926 through 1933 the value of

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Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. 1930	U.S. 1880	U.S. 1940
Under 35	64.2	66.8	63.1	74	59.4
35–64	30.3	28.2	31.4	23	33.7
65 and over	5.5	5.0	5.5	3	6.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	100.0

A slightly different age grouping tells a similar story.

Age	5,255 Families	515 Families	U.S. Rural Farm	U.S. Rural Non-Farm	U.S.
25 and over	50.0	46.7	44.6	51.2	52.3
50 and over	16.8	14.6	16.3	17.9	17.2
60 and over	8.5	7.7	8.0	9.6	8.5

Considering the high birth and death rates in China and the steady increase in life expectancy in the United States, one would rather expect that the Chinese population would have a considerably larger proportion in the younger years.

The U.S. figures given above show what a large change there has been in the age distribution in 60 years. Except for the fact that both the Chinese and the U.S. population were relatively stable in 1930, it was probably fortuitous that the U.S. age distribution at that time was so similar to that of our Chinese families, but it is interesting that the Chinese figures compared so closely with the U.S. figures for 1930 rather than with those for an earlier period when the United States population was so much more rural and agricultural. The rapid growth of the U.S. population before 1900 would account, in part at least, for the higher proportion under 35 years of age in 1880.

Buck, in his study of Chinese families, reported that he found a possible tendency for the Chinese to give their ages in even rather than odd numbers. For his 2,640 families with 14,952 members, the division was 59.7 per cent in the even years and 40.3 in the odd years, using the Chinese age basis.[8] The preponderance, of course, was in the odd years when the ages were figured by the Western method. The figures were quite consistent in the different ten year age groups. The range in the percentage in the even years was from 53.5 in the 61–70 year group to 63.6 in the group over 80. The males were 60.2 per cent even, the females 58.8.

162 In the 34 families included in our family budget study (see Chapter

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8. Buck, *op. cit.*

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V) just the opposite was true. In that group of 205 persons 55.1 per cent of the ages were given as odd and 44.9 per cent as even. There was a wide divergence in the figures for the 10 year age groups, from 28.5 per cent odd in the 71–80 year group to 75 per cent odd in the 61–70 year group. These wide differences probably were due to the relatively small numbers in the groups.

In our group of 5,255 families, we found the same tendency as in the 34 families. The division, however, was much more nearly even, but the odd years outnumbered the even by a ratio of 52 to 48. The ratios for the 10 year age groups were close to the average, varying not more than 1.5 per cent above or below the average, except in the over 90 group, where the small number of three individuals made a 67–33 division necessary.

For the females the 10 year age group division range was from 50.7 to 53.4 per cent odd, except in the over 90 year group. For the males the range was from 50 to 54.4 per cent odd.

To allow for the fact that the 10 year age groups all started with an odd year and that the natural decrease tends, therefore, to make the odd numbers larger than the even, we have refigured the odd-even division by 10 year age groups, omitting the one year group. When that was done the total group divided 50.4 per cent odd and 49.6 per cent even. Five of the 10 year age groups were still above 50 per cent odd, but four, the two youngest and the two oldest, had a majority in the even years. This would seem to show that by using the technique of getting the animal of the year in which a person was born we were able to eliminate any tendency there may have been to give ages in either even or odd years.

Age and Sex Distribution

The graphs in Figures 6 and 7 show that while the age distribution of the sexes in the 5,255 Chinese families was fairly similar, there was a definitely larger proportion of females in the higher age groups. The average masculinity rate was 106, but for the five year age groups from five to 44 years the rate was regularly 110 or more. The maximum was 113 in the 15–19 year group. After 45 the rate declined until in the 55–59 year group it was below 100, and the females outnumbered the males. From then on, the preponderance of females increased until in the 80–84 and 85–89 year groups the masculinity rate was only 47. It

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CHAPTER III

Four Hundred Farm Families

FOUR HUNDRED farm families living in the 62 villages of the Experimental District were studied in 1927 in order to secure figures that would give a picture of their economic life and activities. Two hundred and two families, 50.5 per cent, lived in Chai Ch'eng, the village where the Mass Education Movement had its headquarters. The other villages had from one to seven families in the study. The 202 Chai Ch'eng families were 55 per cent of the families living in that village.

The 400 families were a 4 per cent sample of the farming families in the Experimental District. The total number of families in the District was 10,445, but generally some 3.5 per cent of the families were not farm operators. They were landlords, business men, artisans, and hired laborers.

Contact with the families studied was generally made through the teachers of the Mass Education schools. Answers to a questionnaire covering farm size, ownership, operation, production, value of farm lands, houses, implements, number of farm animals, details of farm income and expense, age and sex of the members of the family, and amount of family income and expense were secured from the head of the family. The figures given here are the tabulations of the answers to that questionnaire. Being based on reports and estimates, they cannot have complete accuracy, but their consistency, when the families are grouped according to the size of their farm and the type of farm ownership, seems to show that they give reasonably accurate pictures of the farm families in the Experimental District and very probably for all of Ting Hsien.

While we attempted to make the group of 400 families as nearly typical as possible, our area of choice was necessarily affected by the families' willingness to cooperate in, to them, a new and unusual study and their readiness to answer many intimate questions. The group therefore probably had a higher than average intellectual level. We

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

128 know that it included more than the average number of the larger and wealthier farms. Because of this difference the families have been divided into groups according to the size of their farms, in order to give a picture of farm activity on different economic levels rather than just for our particular group of families. The farms with not more than 50 mu of land have been divided into five groups, each with a range of 10 mu, and the larger farms into two groups, one with more than 50 but not over 100 mu, the other with over 100 mu. To avoid the constant use of decimals and for ease of designation the group with not more than 10 mu is called the 1–10 mu group, the group with more than 10 mu but not over 20 mu the 11–20 mu group. The families also have been divided into three ownership groups, owners, part-owners, and tenants.

Land Ownership and Area

423 427 Land ownership is always a basic question in any study of farm families. Sixty-one per cent of the 400 families were listed as owners, owning all the land they operated; 33.8 per cent were part-owners, renting part of the land they farmed; 5.2 per cent were tenants who rented all of their land. (See Table 15). The 202 Chai Ch'eng families included in the study were divided 58 per cent owners, 38.5 per cent part-owners, and 3.5 per cent tenants. Our 1931 figures for the entire hsien divided the farming families 70 per cent owners, 25.2 per cent part-owners, and 4.8 per cent tenants. In the six districts of the hsien the proportion of owners ranged from 50.6 to 78 per cent, so it is difficult to find a typical sample.

The total area farmed by the 400 families was 12,377 mu, approximately 3.2 square miles. This was 5.5 per cent of the total farm area of the 62 villages. As a higher proportion of land than families was included in our study, the average size of the 400 farms, 30.9 mu, just over five acres per family, was some 39 per cent larger than the average of all the farms in the Experimental District, 22.2 mu, 3.7 acres per family. It was 46 per cent larger than the hsien average of 21.2 mu, 3.5 acres per farming family. In Chai Ch'eng the average was 26 mu per family.

The averages for our different ownership groups were owners 36.5 mu, part-owners 25.3 mu, and tenants 14.3 mu.

Two and four-tenths per cent of the land was operated by the tenant group and 27.6 per cent by the part-owners. Seventy per cent was farmed by the owner group. The part-owners rented 34 per cent of their farm

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area. Only 11.8 per cent of the total crop area was operated by renters. With 88.2 per cent of owner operation there would be very few of the problems resulting from landlordism and tenancy.

The number of crop mu reported was 15,044. The amount of double cropping therefore was 2,667 mu and the index of double cropping 121. Buck[1] in his land study gave the double cropping index for Hopei province as ranging from 125 to 155. For our three ownership groups there was but little difference in the index. The range was 117 to 124. The lowest was for the tenants, the highest for the part-owners.

We do not have an estimate of the amount of uncultivated and waste land held by the 400 families, nor do we have any figures giving the area of their houses. The latter, of course, were all in the villages and separate from the farm lands. In the 62 villages the cultivated land was 83.3 per cent of the total area; houses 4.7 per cent; roads, graves, and other uncultivated land 12.0 per cent.

A comparison of the averages of the different farm groups shows that many of the differences are directly related to the differences in the size of the farms; the amounts per mu are apt to be quite similar. That being the case, the figures for our 21–30 mu group, with an average farm of 25.6 mu, are probably much more typical for the 62 villages of the Experimental District and for all of Ting Hsien than the averages for the entire 400 families, whose average farm had 30.9 mu. Because of this difference in the averages we have given in the text many more figures for the different sized farm groups than would be the case if we were presenting the 400 farms as a typical and average group.

How the farms were distributed according to size and ownership is shown in Table 16. It will be noted that there were no part-owner or tenant families in the over 100 mu group and no tenant families in the 41–50 mu group. Only three tenant families had more than 20 mu. They operated different sized farms, so the three upper tenant groups had only one family each. Their figures, of course, cannot be taken as typical for those groups. For both the owners and part-owners, the largest group was the 11–20 mu group, 25 and 41.1 per cent respectively. Fifty-two per cent of the tenants were in the 1–10 mu group. Forty-five per cent of all the farms had from one to 20 mu. Their total area was only 18 per cent of the land. The 25 per cent of the families who had over 40 mu had 55 per cent of the land.

1. J. Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (University of Chicago Press, 1937).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

that did not have one or more members working on cotton, ginning, beating, spinning, or weaving. This was only 1.5 per cent of the home industry families in the five villages. Only 12 females and 72 males in those villages were non-cotton workers, 0.6 per cent of the female workers and 5.4 per cent of the male workers. If the families in the mat weaving village are included, 80 per cent of the workers in the 1,220 families were working on cotton.

More than one industry was reported by 27 per cent of the families. There were 321 with two industries and eight with three. Ginning, spinning, and weaving was one series. Spinning, weaving leg bands, and making brooms was another.

Two kinds of work were reported by 10.5 per cent of the female workers but only 1.1 per cent of the males. None reported more than two. Spinning and weaving covered all the duplications for the 10 males and all but four of 210 duplications for the females.

The villages show an interesting concentration of industry. One village had only mat weaving. Some thread was spun in that village but it was all used in binding the mats so was not listed as a separate activity. All the bags were woven in one village. All but two of the 124 families weaving belts and leg bands lived in one village. Two-thirds of the industries reported were found in only one of the six villages. Bean curd making, cotton ginning and spinning, and cloth weaving were the only industries reported by five villages.

The items covered in our study of the 1,220 families made it possible to relate the family's land holdings to the size of the family, sex distribution, number of workers, and the proportion of the males and females working. The figures are given in Table 33.

Small land holdings were the rule. Eleven per cent of the families had no land and 82.2 per cent had less than 25 mu. Less than 1.0 per cent had 100 or more mu. As the amount of land held by the family increased the size of the average family generally increased. It was 4.1 persons for the landless families and 14.1 persons for those with 75–99 mu. As mentioned above the proportion of males decreased as the amount of land and the size of the family increased.

The average number of male workers per family did not change appreciably except in the highest group. Generally it was about 1.0 per family. In the 100 mu group, however, the average was only 0.1 male worker per family. For the females the average number of workers per

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1964 AF12 North China AF12

however, the reported amounts have been increased by enough to put them on the solar rather than the lunar year basis.

It is fully realized that there are many chances for error in this type of accounting, especially when it covers the period of a year and when, because of literacy problems, the entries have to be made by someone outside of the family. Previous experience with a similar study of the budgets of city families[2] made it possible to foresee and provide for some of the problems. We were able to enlist the cooperation and assistance of the village heads. The records were made, not by an outsider, but by one of the villagers. In spite of all we could do, a considerable number of families dropped out during the year. For some others the record was so evidently incomplete that they had to be eliminated. Fifty-five families started the study but only 34 completed the year's record.

A small group of 34 families that, because of the requirements of the study, had to be chosen on a highly selective basis cannot be called average for all of Ting Hsien, but the general consistency of the figures, when the families are divided into groups according to the amount of their income, is such that it is felt that the income group figures give a very informative picture of the way the rural families of different income levels divided and used their income and furnish a basis for comparison with similar figures from other areas. It is also felt that the record figures are much more accurate than those that could be secured from estimates, by the head of the family, of the previous year's expenditures.

The first of our families began its account on the first of the first month of 1928, a few more families were added the next month, but most of the group began in the third month and continued through the second month of 1929. There was a leap second month in 1929, but it was not included in our study.

The families lived in Chai Ch'eng, Hsiao Liu, and Tung T'ing. These villages were all in the Experimental District. The problem of finding available writers as well as families willing to cooperate in our study made it advisable to work in three neighboring villages rather than in one center. Three men took care of the necessary account keeping.

All of the 34 families were land owners. Seven held land under

2. Sidney D. Gamble, *How Chinese Families Live in Peiping* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1933).

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 .AF 12 North China AF 12

438 thirds of the male workers and 99.5 per cent of the female workers were engaged in home industry. The widespread hand spinning and weaving of the locally grown cotton accounted for the very large proportion of female workers. Over 60,000 were spinning, weaving, or both. Another 6,000 were engaged in other kinds of work. Eighty-eight per cent of the home industry workers were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. About one-third of all females in the villages and some 8 per cent of the males were engaged in some form of home industry.

438 Because some families and workers were engaged in more than one industry there was unavoidable duplication in the home industry 472 figures for both families and workers. In determining the above figures we have made allowance, on the basis of the actual duplication in 1,220 • 128 home industry families (see Chapter IV), for the known but necessarily estimated duplication in our hsien totals. In the 1,220 families the duplication was 27.5 per cent for the families, 10.5 per cent for the female workers, but only 1.1 per cent for the male workers. Spinning and weaving covered all but 2 per cent of the workers' duplications. In our industry tables we have not attempted any adjustment in the totals as the duplication can only be estimated. It must, however, always be kept in mind when the family and worker totals are considered.

In some cases it was difficult to make a sharp distinction between home and shop industry. The payment or non-payment of wages to the workers has been the chief determining factor. Home industry generally did not involve paid workers though they might be hired occasionally during especially busy times. Home industry generally was carried on in winter or other leisure time, but might be year round. Shop industry was generally year round, but might be seasonal. Apprentices were employed in some of the shops. Cotton ginning, which in some instances was done in the homes, has been listed as a shop industry as most of the workers were paid on a piece rate basis. Weaving was classified as a home industry although a few weavers were paid according to their output.

435 The value of the industrial output in 1931 was estimated to be some $8,570,000. Fifty-seven per cent of this amount was produced 472 by home industry. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total. The [288] village shops produced more than four times as much as the city shops 369 but the city output per shop was almost twice that of the villages. The 438 average annual output per worker was city shops $890, village shops

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125 472 438 ning and weaving, we had to depend on the knowledge of the village elders or other representative persons to give us figures for the entire village. While our figures are, of necessity, based on the estimates of many different persons and there naturally were wide variations in the figures for the different villages, the proportion of families working, the average number of workers, the amount of output, and the totals and averages seem to give a reasonable approximation of the figures for the different types of industry and for the total industrial activity of the hsien.

Prices naturally varied from month to month and from market to market. With 83 different markets in the hsien there was opportunity for considerable divergence. The prices in our tables are based on figures from the main markets, secured at different times of the year. By averaging the quotations we have tried to show the general price level at the time of our industrial study, 1931.

In order to get at least a rough classification of the different industries we have divided them into seven groups: cotton ginning, spinning and weaving; weaving of non-cotton materials; food; wood and bamboo; metals; chemical goods and processes; miscellaneous. The second group, combining as it does the weaving of wool, hair, reeds, straw, and twigs, is a very heterogeneous group. Some of the other industries might have been otherwise classified but we have not attempted any rearrangement as it would not appreciably affect the principal items shown by the group figures, the generally low average output and gain per worker, the heavy concentration in cotton, and the very small proportion of metal work.

438 ● 129 286 Fifty-six per cent of the total output and 61 per cent of the village shop and home industry output was in the cotton group. According to the tables, 89.7 per cent of the home industry families and 88.7 per cent of the home industry workers were working on cotton. These latter figures are higher than actual because of the large duplication in spinning and weaving, but even if allowance is made for this, on the basis of the duplication in the 1,220 home industry families, both figures are still over 86 per cent.

438 472 Almost three-quarters of the city shop output was either chemical goods or foods. It is indicative of general industrial activity in Ting Hsien that metal products were less than 2 per cent of the hsien output.

Only five of the 46 different city industries had reported outputs of

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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(a) What forces are causing the weakening and dissolution of the guilds?

(b) How long, in its present form, will the ancient guild system last?

(c) What types of guilds are undergoing modification, and of what sort?

(d) What types of guilds are disappearing?

(e) What forms of industrial or commercial organization are taking the place of ancient guilds?

(f) What attitudes and values, characteristic of the old guild system, are being preserved in new forms of industrial organization?

(g) From the viewpoint of possible social engineering, is it desirable and practicable to reorganize the guilds in a form better adapted than the present organization to meet contemporary social needs?

(h) What are the social and the economic consequences of the breaking-up of the old guilds?

A. The Use of the Term "Guild"

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The word "guild,"[1] is defined in Webster's *New Inter-*

[1] The use of the spelling "guild" rather than "gild" is purely arbitrary. The four dictionaries consulted give both spellings, two preferring "guild" and two "gild." Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1923) and J. A. H. Murray's *New English Dictionary* (1901) give "guild, and gild," while Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary* (1927) and the *Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia* (1915) give "gild, guild." All authorities trace the word back to the root verb "gildan," meaning to pay. Blackstone's "Commentary" 1, 473, explains the term as follows: "Gild signified among the Saxons a fraternity derived from the verb 'gildan,' to pay, because every man paid his share towards the expenses of the community. And hence their place of meeting is frequently called the guild, or guild hall." By this definition Blackstone seems to imply that "gild" is the name of the association while "guild" signifies the place of meeting. This distinction, however, is not made in any other definition of guilds which we have discovered. Writers on

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

national Dictionary as follows: "An association of men belonging to the same class, or engaged in kindred pursuits, or with certain common interests or aims, formed for mutual aid and protection, or for carrying out of a common purpose."

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It is in this very general sense that the term is here used, without any assumption of the identity of Chinese guilds with similar organizations found in the records of European medieval history. Indeed, a much more accurate but far more cumbersome term would be "handcraft, professional and trade associations." The term "guild" is chosen, however, both because these organizations certainly fall under the very general terms of the above definition and also because many writers on China have already made use of this term in designating the types of associations here described. This study may in a sense be considered an endeavor to portray more clearly the nature of organizations of the three types dealt with. At the close of this investigation are summarized some of the outstanding characteristics of these organizations.[1]

It is necessary to make clear a further restriction of the types of organization dealt with by an enumeration of the various types of guilds at present existing in China, of which we have selected three. We find the term applied to seven different types of organizations by various authors. Table I gives the classification made by five writers on Chinese guilds. The following brief description gives the main features of these different types.

China vary in the use of these two terms. Morse and Macgowan use the form "gild," while E. T. Williams and many other recent writers on China use the form "guild." Works by these writers are listed in the bibliography, page 262. It is clear that the meaning of the two terms is identical.

[1] *Cf.*, pp. 239-240.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE I

CLASSIFICATION OF CHINESE GUILDS BY VARIOUS AUTHORS

Our Designation	1 "The Religious Fraternity"	2 Professional	3 Craft	4 Commercial	5 & 6 Provincial		7 The Gild Merchant
					Social	Economic	
Macgowan. Morse	"The Religious Fraternity"	Labor	Unions Craft Gilds		Merchant Gilds The Provincial Club		The Gild Merchant
Gamble ...			Craft Gilds		Provincial Gilds		
Williams ..		Craft Gilds		Merchant Gilds	Provincial Gilds		Community Gild
Ta Chen ..		Craft Gilds		Commercial Gilds	Provincial Gilds Social	Provincial Gilds Economic	The Gild Merchant

1. "The Religious Fraternity." This term is used by Morse only. He says in this connection:[1]

> The gild, in its restricted sense of a solely religious and benevolent fraternity, also exists in China, under the name of *Hwei*, or "Association," the name also given to the secret anti-dynastic and revolutionary societies which have permeated the empire for a century past and more. These religious associations are formed to do honour to a designated demi-god or canonised worthy, as was the case with the early English trade fraternities, each of which was dedicated to a certain saint.

2. The Professional Guild. We have coined this term to indicate a subdivision of the craft guilds, namely, guilds that sell their services rather than manufacture goods.

[1] H. B. Morse, *The Gilds of China* (New York, 1909).

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

Under this classification are included such groups as the actors, the barbers, the story tellers and the blind minstrels.

3. The Craft Guild. This category includes societies composed of workmen who make articles by hand.

4. The Commercial Guild. Societies of merchants of one occupation who sell goods, retail or wholesale, come under this heading.

5. The Provincial Guild (social). Morse defines what he terms the "Provincial Club" as follows:[1]

> The prime characteristic of the provincial club is that its membership consists entirely of officials and merchants foreign to the province in which it is situated, and to which they have been called by their official duties or by their business.[1]

In giving this definition Morse includes both officials and merchants. In Peking there is a type of provincial guild known as the *Hui-kwan*, which is purely social in nature. Mr. Gamble, who has written extensively on social and economic conditions in China, describes the provincial guild hall as follows:[2]

> The Provincial Gild Halls are among the social gathering places in Peking. These halls, and there are 413 of them, all but six of which are in the South City, were built during the Manchu Dynasty so that the natives of the different provinces and districts who came to Peking for the literary examinations might have some place to live or at least meet their fellow provincials. Now that the examinations are no longer given, the gild halls are used as clubhouses for those who come from the provinces. Peking has so many officials, expectant officials, students and other non-permanent residents, and the people from different sections of the country differ so widely in cus-

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey* (New York, 1921), pp. 232-233.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

toms, tastes and even language, that it is but natural that these provincial halls should hold a very important place in the social life of the city, even though they have no special recreation facilities. The gild halls, some of which are very fine buildings, also serve as inns or hotels for their provincials and are housing some 25,000 people. The following list gives the number of gild halls built by the cities and districts of the various provinces.

Anhuei	39	Kwangsi	7
Chekiang	38	Kwangtung	36
Chihli	12	Kweichow	7
Fukien	24	Shansi	34
Honan	14	Shantung	7
Hunan	23	Shensi and Kansu	26
Hupeh	26	Szechuan	15
Kiangsi	69	Yunnan	9
Kiangsu	27		
		Total	413

6. The Provincial Guild (economic). As Morse pointed out, frequently the provincial guilds, composed of men from one province, district or city, are societies for the protection and promotion of the industry or commerce of its members. Both Morse and Macgowan describe in detail the operations of many of these guilds in South China, as, for example, the organization of Ningpo merchants residing in Shanghai.

7. The Guild Merchant. Morse defines this type of organization as follows:[1]

> Of the gild merchant, organized by the entire body of a locality to regulate the trade of the locality and to divert its course to their own benefit, there are only three well-marked instances in the history of gilds in China.[1]

The three organizations of this type which Macgowan, Morse and Williams describe are the Great Guilds of Newchwang and Swatow and the Canton Co-Hong.

[1] Morse, *op. cit.*

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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This study deals entirely with the guilds classified as professional, craft and commercial; the other types are discussed only in the treatment of the future of the guild.

The guilds that we are dealing with in Peking are local associations of craftsmen, merchants or professionals, organized for the purpose of furthering their mutual interests, primarily economic, and of mutually protecting the members of their respective crafts, trades or professions, and of working out regulations and procedures to be followed by the members with such ends in view. So far as the craft and trade guilds are concerned, there is great variety of form. At one extreme there are associations, monopolistic in their local area, composed of masters and workers, jointly controlled by all the members and knit into close fellowship by a common and distinctive religious worship. In such associations, detailed regulations regarding prices and wages are enforced; failure to observe these regulations is followed by punishment by fine or expulsion. At the other extreme are guilds actually controlled by the shop or store managers who work together for their mutual advantage. In these guilds membership is not compulsory for those in a common trade or craft and there is no religious bond of common worship. Such associations have no representation of labor in the common council and frequently have few regulations. There is, in fact, little to distinguish this type from employers' associations of the modern kind.

In the case of all guilds studied, there was discovered no permanent separate labor organization as distinct from the organization of the managers. While in many cases the employers or managers alone compose the guilds, the interests of the entire group of merchants or craftsmen (including merchants, workmen and apprentices) are theoretically the province of guild regulation.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHECKS ON THE GENERAL CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION OF THE GUILDS

The information gathered tends to confirm the impression that there are certain general characteristics common to almost all guilds. The fact that three different investigators made this study and found similar characteristics would seem to make it relatively more certain that the results were correct than if the study had been made by one person only.

The number of guilds studied is given in Table III.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF GUILDS REPORTED ON BY EACH INVESTIGATOR

	Hand Craft	Professional	Commercial	Total
By Chang	10	4	9	23
By Chang and Wang	1	2	2	5
By Wang	5	1	4	10
By Wang and Lee		1	1	2
By Lee			2	2
	16	8	18	42

OTHER PRINTED REPORTS AND STUDIES OF CHINESE GUILDS

In the extensive literature on China in European languages one finds little material on guilds.[1] The outstanding work on the subject is Morse's *The Gilds of China*. This book deals largely with the general aspects of guilds found in South and Central China. The article by Macgowan on "Chinese Gilds, Chambers of Commerce and Trade Unions" [2] is of a similar nature. The other works referred to simply

[1] *Cf.* Bibliography, p. 262.

[2] Macgowan, "Chinese Gilds, Chamber of Commerce and Trade Unions," *Journal* of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1888-1889.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

give a general outline of the organization and functions of guilds without affording detailed study of comparative material.

CHECK ON MATERIAL AFFORDED BY REPETITION OF QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE

A glance at the lengthy questionnaire, replies to which were the basis of this study, will show that many questions were repeated frequently. For example, Question I on the purpose of founding the guilds includes the following sub-questions:

1. Maintaining prices
2. Protection from officers
3. Discouraging competition
4. Other purposes

while question VIII concerning the functions of the guilds is divided into two main heads:

1. Fixing prices
2. Standardizing goods

The subject of prices is thus brought out in both questions. It will also be noted that Questions I and VII deal with the same general idea while replies to I: 4 might well embody the same information as replies to VIII: 2.[1] There was thus frequent opportunity for contradictions if answers were careless. Such contradictions were, however, negligible in number.

In most divisions of the questionnaire, after formal inquiries had been made, there was a series of questions designed for the purpose of ascertaining whether the procedures reported in the first half of the questions were actually carried out. There is a tendency in Chinese organizations for actual practice to differ greatly from the declared or formally

[1] *Cf.* Questionnaire, pp. 251-256.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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accepted outline. For example, in the regulations of certain guilds it may be stated that the group is controlled and the officers elected by members who express their will in the annual meeting. In actual operation it may be true that a group of the elder and wealthier heads in informal conference actually make the price regulations of the guild and choose the officers. Our repetition of questions is a frank effort to discover the difference between formal statement and actual practice.

D. General Evaluation of the Material Derived from the Questionnaire

The original data may be classified as the reports of "participant observers." The information comes directly from the guildsmen themselves. It is quite to be expected that certain trends in the guild life are not so apparent to the participant observer as to the outside investigator. For example, in some guilds there is not the anxiety about the future of the organization which one might expect in view of the beginning of the factory system in China and of the spread of foreign trade. Those outside the guilds can more easily see these dangers threatening than those who are absorbed in its customary practices and have little contact with outside developments.

This study is not primarily statistical. There is no claim of actual check on every detail reported. Such a check would not only necessitate one or more re-investigations of every guild but would also involve a detailed observation of the actual behavior of guild members and of the various functionings of these associations. What is claimed, however, is that because of the very numerous data on forty-two guilds, collected by three different investigators, each guild being reported by a member, and because of the various checks above outlined, the study may be considered a relatively

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

128 accurate description of guild organizations and functionings as they exist today in Peking.

127 Partly because no old guild records are available, historical material in this paper, although abundant, is by no means comprehensive. This fact, however, is not the handicap which it might be were we dealing with institutions which have already disappeared. Although no doubt a complete historical picture would throw much light on the present operation and functioning of the guilds, it is not so essential in this case because there is every reason to suppose that they are now functioning very much as they have functioned since ancient times. There are indications, it is true, that of late the ancient structure is beginning to crumble. But in a city like Peking, which is relatively little affected by foreign trade and manufacturing, enough remains to enable us to see clearly the outlines of the ancient organizations.

121 This paper will not deal extensively with the transformation of the guilds. It is relatively more important to understand the nature of these ancient social structures than the many modifications now taking place. Ten years from now much more material will be available on the dissolution of the guilds, but it may then be difficult to determine the original nature of the organizations. The changes cannot be evaluated except by reference to the original structure. No effective effort to conserve the best of the guild life can be made unless we know the nature of the original social values and attitudes manifested.

123 The method used is particularly adapted to a study of this ancient group life. The investigators who covered most of the guilds were young men of modern education, able to give a critical estimate of the facts recorded, but they had not been abroad, were not "Westernized" and were not familiar with Western economic life. These young men had the best possible introduction, that of the friendly scholar-priest with

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be confined mainly to canvassing families which volunteer to keep accounts and to analysing and computing the data from the books returned.

Now in the matter of securing families which will and how to keep acoounts, one meets with a serious obstacle. With no inducement whatever, it seems almost impossible to recruit a sufficient number of families that would volunteer to record their daily accounts, except of course those which realize the value and importance of the inquiry and willingly contribute their service to it. After having secured the required number of families that promised to take up the task of book-keeping, there remains still the problem of having the work continued for a considerable length of time. Unless the keeping of the household account is developed in a person into something like a habitual act, it seems almost impossible to expect him to persist in the practice. Thus, although much less work appears to be involved in a budgetary inquiry of the educated class than in that of the working class, yet the effort put forth in securing a sufficient number of such households and in pursuading their interested members to continue with the book-keeping for a considerable time is by no means less arduous.

The present study is an analysis of 300 account-books. Of this number, 288 are the books of working families for six months in 1926-1927, while the rest are those of 12 households of elementary school teachers for the month of November, 1926. It is evident that, by far, the greater amount of useful data are contained in the former set of accounts and consequently we are enabled to devote the greater portion of this book to a study of the standard of living of the working class. The data furnished by the twelve household accounts of elementary school teachers are necessarily meagre and in many cases perhaps partial, as the study is limited to one winter month. Yet from another standpoint, meagre as the data are, they will in a measure throw much light on the living conditions of an important class, which, in China as in every other country, is poorly remunerated, in spite of their

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

128 valuable services rendered to the nation and, what is more important, to the coming generation. From an analysis of the two sets of household accounts, it may be presumed that certain salient features of livelihood and poverty in Peking will reveal themselves.

In most parts of China, age is counted differently from that
805 in western countries. The general rule for calculating age in this country is that a person on reaching the first day of a new year will automatically increase his age by one year, no matter on what day of the year he was born. Thus, if two persons are born in the same year, both will be considered as two years of age on the new year's day of the following year; it is immaterial if the birthday of one falls on the first day, and that of another falls on the last day, of the year. It will be seen that the Chinese method of calculating age ignores altogether the actual duration of life and takes the passing of the new year alone as the basis of calculation. There is no doubt that this way of calculation, while saving the trouble of remembering one's birthday, is far from being accurate and often leads to an erroneous conception of age. Take the extreme case of a child born at 11.00 p.m. on the new year's eve, for instance; he will be considered two years old at 1.00 a.m. on the new year's day whereas, in fact, he is only two hours old! By assuming it to be two years, he has, so to speak, cheated two years minus two hours which he did not live.

805
128 In conducting the present inquiry, effort had been made to ascertain the actual age of the members of various families. But as some families were rather disinclined to supply information on the birthdays of their members, and some others were unable to furnish knowledge of the matter, the effort had to be abandoned. The ages of various persons were therefore accepted as told and in order to adjust them to the number of years they had actually lived for purposes of computing the adult equivalent, all the ages were uniformly reduced by one year each. For lack of a better and more exact method of calculation, and assuming that all the reported ages on the average exceeded their actual ages by one year each, the reduction as is here adopted may be said to be the only practicable way of calculating the Chinese age.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

804 If the Chinese practice of calculating age gives rise to an erroneous conception of one's actual duration of life, then the

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There were, besides, certain commodities which are always sold in pieces of a definite size. In determining their quantity they were weighed. In this way the quantity of various purchases was worked out.

THE ADULT EQUIVALENT

For a study of consumption, families of different sizes have to be reduced to terms of a uniform unit. Many scales have been made use of for this purpose, but in studying the consumption of the Chinese population, it is preferable to work out a new scale of equivalent adults by means of either medical or economic research into the physiological needs of the average Chinese. Such a scale is, however, still wanting, and for our present purpose, Atwater's scale which was based solely on food consumption has been adopted. The scale is as follows:

	Male	*Female*
Under 2 years	30	30
2 and under 6	40	40
6 „ „ 10	50	50
10 „ „ 12	60	60
12 „ „ 13	70	60
13 „ „ 15	80	70
15 „ „ 17	90	80
17 and over	100	80

In the forty-eight working families, there were altogether 220 persons. Reduced according to the above scale, they were 162.1 equivalent adults. It has been further worked out that of these equivalent adults, 131.77 had taken meals at home while 30.33 had their meals outside.

It should be noted that as Atwater's scale is based on dietary studies, it can hardly be considered a satisfactory one to measure the consumption of commodities other than food. However, liberty has been taken in our study to use the scale throughout, as adequate scales based on all groups of expenditure have yet to be worked out in this country.

ACCURACY OF DATA

128 While every effort has been made by us to aim at accurate accounting during the whole period of the working family inquiry, it is still not possible to claim absolute accuracy for all the data in the books. Indeed, the investigation may be said to have been conducted under very favourable circumstances. Firstly, the investigators have executed their work with a conscientiousness that is most creditable. Secondly, throughout the inquiry, no wilful deception was discovered on the part of the housewife when supplying information. Thirdly, the sums handled being as a rule small, there was less likelihood of faulty accounting. Nevertheless, it is possible that errors might still have crept into one important item, viz. the income. It is possible that some members might keep a part of their earnings to themselves for personal spending and consequently that part of the earnings would appear neither on the income nor on the expenditure column in our accounts. Special attention has, therefore, been paid to this particular matter which, if it had happened in all the families, would have rendered the whole inquiry entirely worthless, and throughout the inquiry, the housewife was constantly asked to find out the earnings and purchaset which did not go through her own hands. On the whole, is was discovered that such a practice as retaining part of the earnings for one's own use was rather rare and it was only the younger members of the family and some rickshamen who failed occasionally to report a part of their earnings which they spent on buying food from the vendors. However, these were always inquired into and corrected accordingly, and it was found that, in particular, the amount of money spent by the rickshamen and also the food articles purchased by them could be accurately ascertained. Taking all the families together, the degree of inaccuracy in the figures for either the income or the expenditure can hardly be said to be beyond 5 per cent. As to those which were within the knowledge of the housewives, they may be said to be entirely accurate.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

125 been able to secure a relatively complete and accurate report on other items, especially the impersonal ones included under food, heat, clothing and rent.

In order to offset some, at least, of the possible omissions, the accounts have been balanced by adding a "surplus" item to the expense side when there was unexpended current income; and "deficit" has been added to the income side when the family spent for current expenses more than their reported income.

Besides the addition of surplus and deficit, the following changes were made in the accounts after they had been transcribed, but before they were totaled, or any percentages were figured. Any reported business expense was deleted from the expenditure side and, if made from current income, was deducted from the reported income. As this is a study of the families' current accounts, when capital income was used for a capital expense, the amounts have been omitted from the totals. If rent did not appear on the expense side of the account—that is, if a family owned their home, lived in a house given them rent-free, or made enough profit from subletting rooms at an advanced rent to give them their quarters partly, or entirely, rent-free—the rent value of the property occupied rent-free has been added to both sides of the account. In this way, it has been possible to give rent its proper weight in the family expenses and secure the complete figures for other housing items.

128 Some people have questioned the making of a budget
436 study in Peiping in 1926 on the basis that times were abnormal, that there was revolution and civil war in China, and that there had been fighting around the city in the spring of 1926 when Feng Yu-hsiang had been driven

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out of the city by Chang Tso-lin. However, the city was at peace during the entire time of the study; and while many foreigners, fearing a possible Communist uprising, hurriedly left during the spring of 1927, the ordinary Chinese family was not seriously affected by the tension of those days. Furthermore, a previous study showed that prices in Peiping were little influenced by political events unless communications were interrupted, and that they quickly returned to normal as soon as the roads were opened.[3] The price level had been rising, until in 1927 the prices of pork and mutton were 57 and 87 per cent higher than the 1924 averages, and the 1924-1927 increase for salt was 66 per cent, oils 35 per cent, coalballs 38 per cent, flours between 15 and 20 per cent, but, during the time the field-work of this study was being carried on, prices remained relatively stable. The combined index number for food, clothing and fuel ranged from 97.8 to 102.5 with the high point in December and the low point in October.[4]

One special reason for making the study in 1926 was that it was evident a change of some sort was coming in China, both in the political and the economic fields. Trade-unions were being organized in many cities and were increasing wages, prices had been going up, and there were many groups opposed to the Peiching (Peking) government. A study of family budgets made at that time would anticipate the coming change, would give a picture of conditions in a large non-industrial city before the change should take place, and would provide a point of departure for measuring the changes and development of the new régime. Less than a year after the field-work

[3] No. 18, Bibliography. [4] Nos. 11 and 18.

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counted as a member of the family, even though regularly contributing to its support. In figuring the number of cost consumption units in a family, proper allowance has been made for the absence of any of those counted as members of the family.

The *Graphs*, except on the charts giving monthly expenditure, show the general trend rather than the figures for the individual income groups. The curves have been drawn first through the points given by a three-point moving average, have been extended to the $5 and $300 group amounts, and then have been smoothed. Monthly expenditure graphs are unsmoothed. Proper allowance has been made in the charts for the differences in the range of the income groups.

Hopei is the present name of the province in which Peiping is located. Prior to 1928 it was known as Chihli Province.

An *Income Group* includes all the families whose incomes lie between certain limits. The families have been grouped on the basis of their average monthly income, rather than their annual income. Differences of $5 and $10 a month have been used, rather than $50 and $100 a year.

Month refers to the Western calendar month, except when ordinal numbers are used, as First Month, Second Month. The latter refer to the months of the Chinese lunar calendar.

Peiping, North Peace, is the present name given to the city formerly called by the Chinese, Peiching, North Capital, and by the foreigners, Peking. The name was changed in 1928. Although the old names were still in use when this study was made, the new name has been adopted for this report.

The *Percentages* given in the tables ordinarily are the averages of the percentages of the individual families in each income group. They differ somewhat from those figured on the basis of the average amount received or spent by all the families in the income group, but the difference is not large.

A *Picul* is 100 catties, 133 pounds.

The *Prices* of commodities have been secured from the *Chinese Economic Journal*,[7] from *Livelihood in Peking*[8] and by personal visits to the stores.

[7] No. 11. [8] No. 39.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

be increased, but at the same time cart pulling would secure for him a goodly amount of "salt bonus." The change in the cost of living of such a worker is sometimes immediate and sometimes comes after a period of one or two months. To obtain absolutely correct figures of the yearly cost of living from such a worker is not only impossible for the investigator but also complicated enough for the worker himself, for we could hardly expect him to remember all his expenses in detail, while his economic conditions changed several times a year. It should, therefore, be stated that what we are presenting in this book is but a conservative estimate of the worker's average expenses for the preceding twelve months.

Question of Social Respect.—Traditions and customs in China present a peculiar problem to the social investigator. The Chinese people are usually reserved, though often keenly sensitive to the treatment they receive. Whatever their station in life their dignity is to be respected at all times. It is, therefore, often a delicate matter to obtain reliable information from the worker without infringing too much upon his privacy or causing displeasure. In asking such questions as the age of a girl, value of one's property, debts incurred, articles pawned, etc. it is not only distasteful to the informant but also quite embarrassing for the investigator. In the case of re-investigation and confirmation, where the same questions had to be asked once over again, the situation was particularly delicate, for it naturally revealed our skeptical attitude, if not, our entire disbelief in the truthfulness of the previous answers of the informants.

III. LIMITATION OF OUR DATA

Business Secrecy.—It is generally known that no business man is willing to give out certain facts of his business or the condition of his factory. And, of course, the factory under investigation is no exception to the rule. Inasmuch as the aim of our investigation is merely to find out the cost of living of the workers, only a general description of the factory will suffice,

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here to show the nature of the concern in which our workers were employed. Data which the Factory deems confidential have all been withheld.

Abnormal Period.—Political disturbances in the past few years have seriously affected the business of the factory. From May to July 1926, three shops in the factory were one after another closed down, while only one was left in operation. During this period, production was greatly curtailed and chances for paying the salt bonus which certain workers would receive on account of their part in increasing the output of salt had necessarily become rather rare. The slump in the salt refining business undoubtedly brought unhappy consequences on the economic conditions of the workers. In normal years, workers generally devoted six months to manufacturing salt, while during the last year they worked only two months on it. The annual income of the salt workers was thus reduced by an amount of four months of salt bonus which is about $20 or about one-eighth of their yearly income.

Worker's Estimate.—On account of the generally low intelligence of the workers, not more than two or three in one hundred could keep their own account books. Figures on the schedules were all supplied by the workers and duly filled out by the investigator himself. As these figures were mostly obtained through cross-examination of the workers at various points and were also carefully studied later, they may be considered to have approached a high degree of accuracy. However, inaccurate estimates were still apt to occur. For instance, a worker might be told by a friend who had been investigated that certain questions were to be answered in certain ways, and in this case, the figures he gave for his own expenses would be more or less influenced by the advice of his friend. At other times, a worker would make use of another man's figures provided he found them serviceable. At still other times, a worker might base his expenses upon the figures of a few days, which he happened to remember rather than upon the average expense for the whole year. In the first case, the